vessel had visited before and from 1788 on these fishing grounds were actively worked.[16]

Inevitably some of the products which were staples of the Matsumae income decreased. According to the *Tsugaru Ittoshi*, the chief staples of the Matsumae were gold dust, hawks, dried salmon, herring, herring roe, strung shells, *Maba* [the fourteen best hip feathers of a full grown eagle, used for arrows], *Neppu* (according to the *Matsumae Ezo Ki* a large seal), *Kotsuhi* (according to the *Matsumae Ezo Ki* a female seal), seal, bearskin, deerskin, salt fish, storks, fish oil, dried cod, sea otter skin, red tangle, salmon trout, etc. By 1669 the gold dust was exhausted and its mining prohibited.[17] Hawks became scarce and by the mid-eighteenth century there were but 22 or 23 among the 390 hunting grounds owned by the clan where hawks could be caught.[18] By 1720 the clan was complaining that "The products of this country and of Ezo are decreasing every year. Previously there was an annual sale of some 3,000 ryô in hawks but hawks are scarce, mining has been stopped and the financial condition is becoming worse."[19] The *SGM* says: "Recently no deerskins are being produced. There are still some deer left but fearing that if these few are caught there would then be none they are left alone." By 1735 the number of deer decreased even further.[20] Seals became less in number.[21] The economic staples of the Matsumae trade prior to the *Basho* system had been limited in quantity. Only if new areas were opened up could sufficient quantities of goods come on the market. That production which increased through the efforts of the *Basho* contractors was marine because it could be increased not only by the opening of new areas but by more efficient methods of production and operation.

The original method of the contractors was to trade with the natives on equal terms for those peculiarly native goods which could be sold in the markets of Japan. From the standpoint of barter it was more profitable to trade the cheapest possible goods to the natives and sell the native products for the highest price obtainable in the mainland markets. The contractors, taking advantage of the ignorance of the Ezo, often committed fraud while at the same time, in the mainland markets, they held a monopoly of the Ezo trade, but, as the Ainu became more attentive to business and as the number of competitive contractors increased, the profit from the barter method fell off and the mer-

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[16] Hidaya Kyûki (The records of Hidaya Kyuhei).
[17] *Hokkaidô Shi* 1: 152.
[18] *Ibid.*, 142.
[19] *Matsumae Nennen Ki* (Annual records of the Matsumae), November, 1720.
[20] "In recent years the deer in this region have been almost wiped out and it is said that what few remain have crossed the sea from East Ezo to lands in the South. Consequently very few are left in East Ezo." *Igen Zokuwa*.
[21] "The Ezo hunt and fish for eagle feathers, bearskin, sealskin, male and female seals, herring, salmon, codfish, whale and abalone. All of these are extremely rare these days." *SGM*.

commercial capitalists but industrial capitalists. The Ezo were completely under contractor control, working as laborers, and Ezo changed from a commercial colony to an exploited colony. Around the posts were built guardhouses where the guards, who took their orders from the merchants, used the natives as labor in fishing. This change became obvious in the period falling from the 1780's through the 1790's and, since the trade was opened in various regions of Ezo at various times, so did this change come into operation at various times. Just as the Ezo trade penetrated gradually into remote areas, so did this phenomenon of change, dependent on local products and conditions, penetrate. The *Hokkai Zuihitsu* notes:

> The merchants entered into contracts with nearby villages and, paying taxes to the Matsumae, employed the Ezo for fishing, the products of which they sold to other countries. The Ezo living in remote areas bartered their goods directly with the merchants. The merchants could also enter these remote areas by paying taxes to the Matsumae.

Thus in those days, while the Ezo living near Matsumae were employees, the Ezo living remote from Matsumae were still in the barter stage. The *Matsumae Ezo Ki* shows a further development in *Basho* operation: "There are sixty-one places in Ezo where the Ezo are paid in advance without any goods being delivered, the Ezo later bringing in whatever goods they are told to bring in their boats, thus the merchants make profits on various articles." This method became more and more popular until in the 1780's it was practiced as far away as Kunashiri. Differences in operational methods were also due to the type of product handled.

1. Hawks, eagle feathers, and animal skins. These could not be obtained on a large scale. Therefore, it was better to let the Ainu retain their primitive methods of hunting them and carry on without capital advances or new equipment. The merchants acquired these by barter.

2. Sea cucumber and tangle. While not available on a large scale, wherever labor could be organized a credit system was established.

3. Salmon, trout, and herring. Here large-scale production was possible and the entrepreneur himself took over management of the enterprise.

The products in group (1) were limited and their continued delivery was only assured by exploiting new territory. Naturally the trade shifted inland and as the trade in this group decreased the trade in the products of groups (2) and (3) became more important.

These three types of products brought about a change in the social standing of the Ezo. Those Ezo who dealt in group (1) retained their position as independent producers and were on equal terms while those Ezo who dealt in the products of group (2) appeared to be independent producers but were actually subject to the contractor as a component of the enterprise. The group (3) Ezo were laborers employed by the merchants. Thus the political position of these Ezo became

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weak and gradually they turned into a conquered people. This principle became apparent as the Ezo were more and more suppressed. Even those in Group (1) could not hope to trade on equal terms while those in group (3) were treated more as slaves than as laborers.

2. THE GROWTH OF JAPANESE CONTROLS IN HOKKAIDŌ

The 1669 revolt, the biggest "incident" since the Amakusa affair [the Shimabara Revolt of 1637–1638] came as a surprise to the Japanese. The Matsumae made great efforts to appease the natives and interdicted Ezo areas to Japanese while at the same time strictly prohibiting Ezo from coming to Matsumae.[24] However, very little else is known of the control system aside from this and, while this policy of interdiction became less stringent,[25] the 1669 incident unavoidably changed the political relationships between Ainu and Japanese. In the *SGM* the Matsumae chief says, "There are fifty to sixty Ezo serving who came from Ezo, Karafuto, and Kurumise islands, among them some who were chiefs. There is no one who is above them to give them orders but me." This seems an exaggeration but it is a true picture of conditions in that area suppressed by the Matsumae at the time of the 1669 revolt. The political relationship between Ezo and Matsumae was inherent in the very conditions of their trade and began when that trade opened. The exchange of gifts was itself an expression of mutual good will. In 1550 Kakizaki Suehiro sent precious and highly valued goods to the Ezo, to win their favor. A chief of Ezo showed his respect by accepting the presents with the statement *"Kamui Tokui." "Kamui"* means a god and is a title of honor. *"Tokui"* means friendship. This chief who had the honor of friendly relations with Matsumae was proud of the fact that he was a good friend of the leader of the clan whom he respected as a god. However, in trade one party stands at a disadvantage. Naturally those Ezo who became vitally dependent on the trade with the Japanese became subject to them. And after the Matsumae clan became an independent power they had behind them the backing of the powerful mainland clans. The Ezo defeated in the 1669 affair completely lost their independence. When they signed that part of the pledge that read, "No matter what the order may be from the lord, we all, regardless of sex, promise never to rebel," those chiefs who had previously been on equal terms with the Matsumae leader came under his control. *"Otona":* a Japanese term used to denote the leader of a self-governing community in the fifteenth century came to be

[24] Takeuchi Unpei, *Hokkaidō Shisō* (Essentials of the history of Hokkaidō), 26.

[25] "According to the *Tōyu Zakki* written by Furukawa Koshōken in 1788 the Ezo were forbidden to stay in Matsumae although there were some who came and remained as day laborers. But there were also Japanese who went into Ezo territory and remained there as adopted sons." *Kinsei Shakai Keizai Shō* 3: 126, 164.

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So the circulation of coins had its advantages and production increased and the Ezo were happy, although some criticized it and some misunderstood it because the issuing of coins was a complicated matter.[16]

The Commissioners had been most anxious over the term of circulation but the Bakufu did, at the end of its period of control, take up all coins.[17] The use of coins was pretty much limited to East Ezo and was not practiced in West Ezo for, in later years, in contrast to the price list of trade goods in East Ezo which was expressed in terms of money, that of West Ezo was expressed in terms of rice.[18] Coins were used to a great extent, however, in East Ezo and we have a great deal of evidence from travel diaries of the period on that point.[19]

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*648
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C. STABILIZATION OF EXCHANGE RATES

As has been mentioned the rate of exchange in Ezo rose and fell with market changes in Japan. These changes increased the suspicions of the natives who understood nothing of such matters and it also gave the contractors an excuse for crooked manipulations.

In order to remove these defects the Bakufu established a fixed price for both coins and rice, applicable only in Ezo, not to be changed, and it further ordered that the exchange rate be fixed as of the time and place

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Bakufu Office of Accounts regarding the government of Ezo and the reply of the Hakodate Magistrate) from Okamoto Ryūnosuke, *Hokkaidō Shikō* (Documentary history of Hokkaido) 1: 130.

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[16] "When iron coins came into use they were placed on the market at the rate of one kan 200 mon per gold bu but the market price went to one kan 400 mon per gold bu. Since these coins had originally cost a little more than 1 kan 600 mon, it made for the highest exchange rate in Japan with one ryō equal to three gold bu. Carpenters and woodcutters hired from the Nambu and Tsugaru clans exchanged their money at the rate of three bu for a gold ryō. A person hired at a daily wage of four momme of silver was getting a real wage of three momme. The daily cost of tobacco and sake amounted to a considerable sum and it led to complaints by the hired laborers that they could not make a living. The Ezo hearing all this began to think that the government trade was being carried out at a great profit. This has its effect on the government's prestige and is most regrettable." Mogami Tokunai, *Ezo Sōshi* in *Ezo Fūzoku Isan* 2 (8).

[17] "Ever since the land was returned to the landlords in the Bunsei [1818–1829] era the use of gold and silver was forbidden and travelling expenses were paid in the form of rice, sake and other goods. . . ." Hori Oribenoshō Tadashi, Ezochi zenni tsuyō tetsusen ittate kata ukagai [An inquiry into the use of coins and the minting of iron coins]. *Dai Nihon Komonjo Bakumatsu Gaikoku Kankei Bunsho* 13: 177.

[18] Koekishin nedan no koto (Prices of trade goods) in *Ezo Fūzoku Isan* 2 (3).

[19] "For a few coins girls with Karafuto beads are very happy to part with them. From Yubutsu onward coins are in use and the people there, regarding coins as the most valuable of treasures, would gladly kneel in gratitude for one or two mon." *Nishi Ezo Takashima Nikki* (West Ezo Takashima Diary). "Yubutsu . . . people in this area were the first to grasp the use of coins. They were also skilled in carving and their livelihood depended on the making of toys and other articles." *Shōhoku Roku* (Records of the Far North).

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since manpower during the summer could not be dispensed with.[4]

After the tributary visit to the Magistrate the group reported to the Hakodate Office and presented gifts. Another report was submitted after the party had returned to their *Basho*.[5] The gifts presented consisted chiefly of products of the *Basho* or of handicraft work made by the natives during the winter.[6] For example we have a list of gifts given by the Niikappu *Basho* in 1818.

Gifts to Matsumae

Ten Ezo handmade towel hangers
Fifteen knife sheaths
Twenty spoons
Twenty writing brush holders
Twenty spools
Two hundred dried sea slugs

Gifts to Hakodate

Five Ezo handmade towel holders
Ten knife sheaths
Ten spoons
Ten writing brush holders
Ten spools
One hundred twenty dried sea slugs

The ceremony for the interview and the presentation of gifts by the Magistrate was probably more or less the same as that of the Later Matsumae period and the later Bakufu Adminstrative Period but materials for this particular period are not available. However, as we shall see in the next chapter, it is apparent that. in order to achieve dignity, the ceremony was conducted with grandeur, with various presents being given to the natives, and the entire affair was used by the authorities to establish a mutual understanding. Ceremonies similar to the above but on a smaller scale were held at the meeting house, tax office, or guardhouse of

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[4] "The annual visits of gratitude which, taking place at the beginning of the year, are made to the Magistracy by those Ezo with titles, will take place once every five years. During the year prior to the year of the visit the *Basho* will be notified and handicrafts and other presents shall be prepared during the leisure of winter. Lists of those Ezo who are to attend will also be prepared and the presents when ready will be brought to the guardhouse where they will be examined and sealed. If the *Basho* engages in trout fishing and the year happens to be an abundant one, the Ezo may request the guardhouse to postpone their visit until the following year. One *Otona* and one *Kozukai* will make the visit from each *Basho* and the number of persons will be kept down to a necessary minimum." Bunsei mizunoeuma nishichi hikiwatashi ensetsusho (Instructions pertaining to the transfer of the Western territories in the year 1822).

[5] "Orei Ezojin. . . ."

[6] "Presents from the Ezo consisted of eagle tails, rush mats and other goods obtained in the *Basho*. . . ." "Kusuri Basho hikiwatashi ikken. . . ."

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I

INTRODUCTION

The Ainu in Hokkaido.

The Ainu are an aboriginal people living in Hokkaido, southern Sakhalin, and the southern part of the Kurile Islands (Teikoku Gakushi-in, ed., 1944a, p. 7). They have been noted for their hirsute bodies, wavy hair and narrow heads. They number about 17,000 (ibid., p. 7). The Ainu population of Hokkaido was estimated in 1940 at about 16,300 (NATORI, 1945, p. 280), a figure which has remained almost stable since 1854[1].

Hokkaido is an island of about 77,900 square kilometres (Tokyo Temmon-dai, ed., 1954, Sect. Geogr., p. 7), situated north of the Japanese mainland between circ. 41°30′N and 45°30′N and circ. 140°E and 146°E. The northern tip of the island is about 40 kilometres away from Sakhalin and to the northeast of the island the Kurile Islands stretch away towards Kamchatka. The annual means of temperature for the years 1921-1950 vary from 5.2°C. to 8.5°C. in different areas in Hokkaido (ibid., Sect. Meteol., p. 8). There is a long season of snowfall from October to May (ibid., Sect. Meteol., p. 34 and pp. 36-42) (in Obihiro on the middle Tokapchi, from November to May). The monthly mean temperatures in the island for the years 1921-1950 indicate below 0°C. for the four months from December to March[2]. Apart from some local differences, at least in Obihiro on the middle Tokapchi, this is roughly the period of base snow which covers the ground through the winter (Obihiro Sokkō-sho, 1959, p. 8 and p. 24). The island is well wooded: the southwestern part is rich in latifoliate trees represented by beech while the northeastern part abounds in coniferous forests, the representative species being firs, Abies sachalinensis and Picea jezoensis (MIURA, 1933, p. 275 and p. 278)[3]. From north to south through the centre of the island runs a range of hills and mountains the highest of which is Mt. Taisetu, 2290 metres above sea-level and in which the main rivers of Hokkaido have their sources. Among these rivers, the longest is the Ishikari (365 km), followed by the Teshio (306 km) and the Tokapchi (196 km) (Tokyo Temmon-dai, ed., 1954, Sect. Geogr., p. 27). In most of these rivers there are successive runs of salmon, Oncorhynchus masou and O. keta, from early summer to early or mid-winter (OYA, 1954; MIHARA et al., 1951). Among larger land mammals in Hokkaido are brown bear, Ursus arctos, and deer, Cervus nippon (HATTA, 1911; INUKAI, 1933, 1934 and 1952)[4]. The Ainu exploited these resources by hunting and fishing, and also collected wild plants.

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Contact between the Ainu and the Japanese, their southern neighbours, is of long standing[2], and for a considerable period the life of the Ainu had been subject to Japanese influence through what was called the "basho" or district system that lasted from before 1789 to 1869[3]. In 1868, Hokkaido came under the administration of the Japanese Government: the island became a part of the territory of Japan and colonization was started.[1] With this began a process which greatly changed Ainu life, so that today the Ainu language is rarely spoken and then only by the aged; full-blood Ainus are about to be extinct; and the whole system of their subsistence has been profoundly altered. The most sudden and significant change in their mode of life happened in 1883 when the new Government started carrying out its programme of encouraging the Ainu to take up farming[4]. The object of this paper is the Ainu as they lived their autonomous life in the last phase of the intermediate period between the abolishment of the "basho" system and the introduction of new life based on agriculture[5].

The Aim and Method.

The Ainu have interested many students concerned with, the origins of this ethnic group, their customs and artifacts as well as their bodily features. The result has been listings of patterns of those elements and mappings of their distributions, but little has been known about the process of their life, that is, how the Ainu have lived and are still living in the fields. To take an example, although the Ainu is described to have been a gathering people with no necessity of nomadic wanderings (HABARA, 1937, pp. 73-74, quoted from The Aborigines of Hokkaido published by Hokkaido Government; Note 40), scarcely anything has been investigated about how they maintained a settled life and in what conditions and with what effects, even the ascertainment alone of which may be of theoretical significance.

Man is a unique animal with unique properties; yet he remains part of the biotic world and his life process at any level of organization, whether at that of the cell, the individual or the group, is nothing but a part of nature. This paper deals with the Ainu not in terms of the types of implements and customs but of a life process functioning on a system of activities incorporating these means and mechanisms. The life process as such should be understood in the context of habitat, the place of abode, because no organisms can function apart from it. On the other hand, their activities should be understood in terms of the contribution to maintainance of the individual, the group and the species because this is what the students of organisms consider as the end or purpose of life process in general. From this point of view the present writer has attempted to analyse the modes and arrangements of Ainu activities with reference to their habitat and their group

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The date chosen for the study is that immediately preceding the period of great changes brought about in their group life by Japanese interference or the introduction of new farming system under Japanese guidance and superintedence, following the agricultural-land allotment grogramme[1] and the free distribution of farming tools and plant seeds by the Japanese government. Although varying to some extent in different localities in Hokkaido, the period dates after 1883 (TAKAKURA, 1942, pp. 486-488; Note 10); in the Tokapchi valley it dates from 1886 (YOSHIDA, 1955, p. 6) and in the Azuma valley from 1888 (A Chronological Chart of Azuma Village History, compiled by the village office). With this date as dividing line, there occurred throughout Hokkaido wholesale migrations of settlement groups with attendant dispersions and aggregations. As far as the present study is concerned, for instance, the Nitmap group on the river Tokapchi moved from their old home to a new site all tted downstream; the Ainu on the Otopuke, tributary of the Tokapchi, were suddenly tranformed from their entire gathering life to a new farming life. This visible and sudden change brought on the Hokkaido Ainu was imprinted in the memory of those who experienced it as an epoch-making event in their life histories, the fact which enabled the writer to segregate data pertaining to the Ainu groups prior to the transition. As a necessary procedure to studying groups at the given time horizon, it was important to get into contact with informants who have either experienced the life of the groups themselves as members thereof and also are competent to supply information of that life. Three Ainu informants to satisfy these conditions were made available to the author: Ushintasan (Yoshimura by Japanese family name; female, native resident of Tonika on the river Azuma; died in 1954), Ushino (Kachikawa by Japanese family name; female, native of Nitmap on the river Tokapchi and resident of Memroputu) and Kazari (Hosoda by Japanese family name; female, native of Rucha on the river Otopuke and resident of Otopuke).

It must be remembered that the simple fact that an informant belonged to a group at the given data[2] is no guarantee for his or her information pertaining to the particular group at the particular time horizon. With a view to restricting the information sought to the desired group at the desired date, interviews were conducted by focusing on the visible and concrete activities of that group to which the informants belonged at the date. This means indirect observation by which the investigator may examine indirectly to some extent the actual and concrete workings of the group through descriptive information about the actual daily behaviours and activities of the informant himself in the group and of his fellow members and neighbours. From this concrete but fragmentary information the investigator may extract relations existing between those activities. This process was of particular

1. [Errata: the word "grogramme" should read "programme". Cf. errata sheet, p.164-A--Analyst]
2. [Errata: the word "data" should read "date". Cf. errata sheet, p. 164-A--Analyst]

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hup, Abies sachalinensis[23]. In the second phase the scene[1] of hunting shifted accordingly from the fields up to the hills. Huntings on the fields were usually done by hunters out from their homes in the settlement for the day, whereas for the hill hunting the hunters from most settlements migrated in parties to near the area where deer concentrated to pass the winter (Fig. 8 and Map 2). The hunters stayed at their huts in the valleys of streams down from the winter quarters, chasing their game with hounds and with hand bows and poisoned arrows. They usually returned home when the snow was too deep for them and their dogs to walk in. In either of Tokapchi and Otopuke, hunting activities during this second phase were performed only by part of the hunters, and in Nitmap on the upper Tokapchi at least, by some younger, unmarried hunters. In short, those activities were more or less supplementary to field hunting. They seem to have fluctuated in proportion to the scarcity of meat in actual store.

Spring hunting.—In spring the surface of the snow on the hills thawed by day and hardened again by night. Then deer hunting was resumed by hunters back at their huts near the winter quarters (p. 54). For some time early in the season, they used their hounds to drive the animals from their quarters down into glens still filled with snow and then shot them with hand bows as they fled struggling in the hardened snow. They also hunted the game lured by fresh leaves or small twigs of trees fallen on the ground, with spring bows set around them. As the snow began to disappear and the plants pushed forth their buds, deer gradually came down in herds to the lower plain in search of food. From the winter quarters down to the fields deer passed by way of the ridges of hills. Their tracks, *yuk apiri*, were much more fixed between the winter quarter and the bottom of the ridge than on the open fields. They continued hunting by means of spring bows set along the migration tracks as well as by hand bows till the base snow disappeared from the fields and the downward migration was completed. Each hunting party constituting a hut group (pp. 43-46) practised the spring bow hunting in their own hunting territory, that is, the dale valley in which their hut was located (p. 31).

Besides the methods mentioned above, the Ainu hunted deer down with dogs, caught them by the horn or neck with ropes and killed them with clubs as they fled struggling in the snow or crossed the rivers[24]. This method was widely practised among the Ainu; however, it seems to have been only supplementary to the others. It was also the only method of deer hunting by women and children.

Bear Hunting.

The Hokkaido species of bear belongs to Ursus arctos, a kind of brown

1. [Errata: the word "scence" should read "scene". Cf. errata sheet, p. 164-A--Analyst]

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bear[35]. It grows to a large size and is of ferocious nature. The Ainu hunted for it and killed it in a positive way with spring bows and arrows tipped with poison prepared from the wolf's bane, Aconitum, and even with hand bows. The Ainu were most probably the only known people to use bows and arrows as chief implements for hunting the brown bear (WATANABE, 1953). Moreover, it seems that no people in the neighbouring areas ever hunted the bear with such degree of active, organized effort as the Ainu. The Ainu habits of capturing and rearing young cubs and of their ritual killing were quite remarkable (p. 75), as was their well developed method of bear hunting. Furs of the animal were the most important item of barter with the Japanese. Seen from the food economy of the Ainu the bear was not so important as deer or salmon. Throughout the areas investigated by the present writer, rather few Ainu hunters could bring down or capture as many as eight bears, including cubs, in a year.

The bear has a hibernating habit. In early spring in Hokkaido the bear gradually came out of its den and, tracing chiefly the ridge where the snow melts earlier, came down to the lower hills and the level plain where food could be found early. In autumn the bear went about in search of nuts and berries growing in plenty by the mountain streams. It grows very fat during the autumn. When snow came, the animal began to retreat upstream to the depth of the mountains, where it went again into hibernation in its den. Zoological data on those habits of the brown bear in Hokkaido have been given by HATTA (1911) and INUKAI (1933)[36].

In Hokkaido, hibernation dens of bears were found in comparative abundance in those rugged mountain districts where rivers have their sources[37]. The hibernation centres as known to the Ainu were distinct from the winter quarters of the deer even in the same river valley. These latter developed on the strip of lower hills mostly wooded with firs and lying on each side of a river valley (Notes 3, 4 and 33). The tracks for the seasonal and local migration of the animal, known by the Ainu as *noru* or *chikushiru*, were more concentrated, mingled and permanent on the ridges and in the small glens nearer to the hibernation centres. Farther away or downstream, they were more scattered and less stable. Moreover, the bear is non-gregarious; its tracks were narrower and less distinct than those of the deer which is gregarious.

With full knowledge of their game, the Ainu selected bear hunting grounds in those source areas of rivers where there were hibernation centres (Note 36, f) and in each ground a hut was built for hunters to pass each season. These hunting grounds lay farther from the settlements and more interior than the deer hunting grounds (Fig. 8 and Map 2). Though much fewer, bears could be found without the source areas; if found, they might be caught

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In spring when the snow had disappeared from the plains, the Ainu set to work collecting wild plants. Their work continued incessantly and with persistence till it was autumn when dog salmon began ascending the rivers. Of the species listed in the chart, Nos. 6, 9 and 19 were especially important as food for bear cubs kept in their homes. Most of the plants collected were dried and stored away in sufficient quantities to last the winter. During spring and summer all varieties with edible leaves, stalks, or roots which the Ainu needed were taken in. In summer *trep* roots were chiefly collected. Those groups that did no farming as in Otopuke gathered these roots with hardly a day's rest during the season. The roots were made into starch for storage. On the other hand, those groups that did some farming (p. 41) seem to have gathered roots with less frequency and in smaller quantity.

In autumn, fishing and hunting activities of the Ainu reached their climax in preparation for the approaching winter. But even at this season certain kinds of edible plants such as nuts, fruits and berries, were collected, though not in such quantities as would last any great length of time. A few varieties of nuts, for instance, acorn and walnut, were exceptions.

The greater part of plants for raw materials were also gathered during autumn, a task in which women again played a major role. In this manner, when base snow covered the ground, the Ainu had completed all their collecting activities. All these activities were arranged in season, so that they were adapted to the ecology of plant life. On the basis of vegtation the Ainu classified the different parts of their land into the following types as forming their main collecting grounds.

Types of Land	Ainu Term	Plants Mainly Collected
Woodland on river bank	*kenashi*	3, 5, 7, 9, 10, 12, 14
Woodless field on either river bank or river terrace	*nup*	1, 2
Oak wood on river terrace	*kommi tai*	1, 2, 3, 8, 13, 18
Woodland by the side of streamlets on river terrace	*nitat*	6, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14

Numbers correspond to those associated with the plant names cited in the list.

The terrace on which the *kotan* stood and its adjoining river bank provided the collecting grounds for their food plants (Fig. 8). Here also were found flora for raw materials, fire-wood, and almost all other plants, excepting a few special items like Ulmus laciniata for clothing or Aconitum for arrow poison. The former species were usually found distributed in plenty and collected in the mountains in the upper reaches of a river (p. 66). Aconite

1, [Errata: the word "vegtation" should read "vegetation". Cf. errata sheet, p. 164-A--Analyst]

222 of the kind which was believed to be best for arrow poison were localized
314 in their occurence (p. 66). The four types of land cited above were invariably
311 distributed along any river, so that almost all necessary collecting was usu-
[484] ally done within a short radius of the *kotan*, or within a day's trip and back at the most. In the case of these particular species that were necessaries and that could only be found a long way from their homes, expeditions were
[462] sent out. The task of getting almost all edible plants, as well as varieties
[357] for raw materials, was undertaken by women and children.

Cultivation of Plants.

241 Before the land-allotment to the Ainu by the Japanese Government (Notes
[177] 9 and 10), the Ainu in the Otopuke valley and a half of the member house-
[184] holds of the local group in Kuttaraushi who lived furthest upstream on the Tokapchi and at least a household in Pipaushi further downstream, had done no farming, but other Ainus in the Tokapchi valley as well as, for instance,
[462] those in the Azuma valley, had done some small-scale farming[39]. The old techniques were simpler and the farm work was usually performed by women. The main crops were a variety of Panicum Crusgalli, *piyapa* or *ayushi amam*,
[221] and a variety of millet, *amam* or *toita amam* or *munjiro*. Preparation of field and sowing were done in July after storing of chief varieties of edible
[412] leaves was finished. Suitable plots on the river bank near their settlement were cleared and levelled with small wooden picks, *shittap*, which were also used for digging up roots and plants. Some families on the Tokapchi used a kind of sickle besides the above-mentioned implement. After the plots were prepared, sowing followed without making any ridges. Weeding was
[412] done only once or twice between the time of sowing and the harvest. The
[237] crops were harvested by picking ears with an implement made of a molluscan
[221] shell collected in the river, dried and stored. These jobs were done during the period between the last part of September and the middle or last part of October. The area cultivated by an average household in Azuma, Saru, Mukawa and Shikot is estimated by the present writer to have been between
[311] ca. 1000 and 2000 square metres. When the soil was exhausted the plot was
[134] abandoned and a new one prepared. In any valley there seems to have been no shortage of land for cultivation in those days. The cycle of shifting cultivation appears to have varied from area to area.

22 Food-getting Activities.

182 Every individual of every species of animals must get its food in order
433 of[1] sustain itself, and food-getting activities may claim to be of basic import-
178 ance in its existence. Up to comparatively recent times, before the introduction of agriculture in its rudest form,[2] the Ainu had lived by hunting and

1, [Errata: the word "of" should read "to". Cf. errata sheet, p. 164-A--Analyst]

2, [Errata: the word "from" should read "form". Cf. errata sheet, p. 164-A--Analyst]

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

fishing and by gathering wild plants. Their animal food supplies came chiefly from deer and species of salmon, while other animals or fish except bear were rarely sought with as much industry. The plant food, though more varied in kind, played rather a subsidiary part in Ainu diet.

The devices used by the Ainu for getting their food were both simple and limited in variety, whereas the methods of their employment reveal manifold variations. The Ainu manipulated those implements, singly and in combination, in accordance with different seasons and different places. At the same time they developed multiple ways of using their devices to adjust to particular circumstances under which they obtained their food. In the exploitation of their habitat the Ainu attained a high degree of efficiency by virtue of close adaptation to natural environment coupled with mechanical principles of techniques and skills employed. In order to exploit efficiently their limited resourses they developed a multiplicity of ways to suit the biotic communities in their daily and seasonal changes. And by further applying such automatic devices as the spring bow and the fish trap, they succeeded in overcoming restrictions met with in space and time. Thus they adapted themselves to their habitat through a system of interrelated devices and techniques on the one hand and a system of organized activities in manipulating those devices on the other. By means of exploiting their habitat in such manifold ways and laying up stores for the scarcity season of winter, they had always remained a gathering people without ever turning to nomadic life[46].

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

175 71). With the development of their administration and the expansion of
166 trading and fishing under their direction, there grew up increasingly larger
648 and more constant demand for workers of great variety for employment at
464 the trading and fishing posts and the watchhouses belonging to the guards.
[463] At these places almost all menial work was done by Ainus—cooking, night-and farm-watch and lookout; charcoal making, firewood gathering and helping at smithy, carpenter's shop and stable. Ainus worked also as courier, maid to Japanese officials, transportation coolie, post-house driver, ferryman, etc. Some of the Ainus in regular employment at Japanese establishments eventually settled down around these posts in increasing number (TAKAKURA, 1942, pp.
175 236-246). The result in time was an emergence at coastal places of new-type
648 Ainu settlements with dependent life on Japanese. The strikingly greater
166 size generally of these settlements and the greater number of houses con-
361 tained as compared with older-type settlements may be seen from the field
177 surveys made by T. MATSUURA in 1857-1858 (MASAMUNE, ed, 1937). Except for these, few Ainu settlements were found on the coast. A *pishun kotan*, coastal settlement, whose inhabitants practised sea-fishing as voluntary occupation for subsistence, actually stood on river banks near the estuary and not by the seaside (WATANABE, 1954, p. 62). The fact is borne out by T. MATURA in his record of the distribution of native settlements and his description about them which follows. "Formerly the natives always lived on river courses and never at the seaside. People say that it was only with the development of this district under Japanese management that the natives came to live by the seaside and at the "unjoya", Japanese fishing and trading posts,
● [423] to be employed as fishing hands" (MASAMUNE, ed, 1937, Vol. I, p. 170). Al-
[226] though the Ainus of *pishun kotan* voluntarily practised sea-fishing, it seems almost certain from the field survey by the present writer that it came only secondary in their scale of economy, which was always predominated by river-fishing, hunting and plant-gathering almost as much as it was with the interior *kimun kotan* Ainu (WATANABE, 1954, p. 62).

Before the introduction of the land-allotment programme, in spite of such changes in coastal settlements due to Japanese influence and the serious effects in consequence on the ways of their life, the majority of the Ainu continued their traditional life of gathering in their traditional settlements. The settling of Japanese in the interior areas dates back only to quite recent times.

175 In order to see where and when Japanese immigrants came to settle in
167 the Ainu territory, information was collected from the census manuals for
[363] 1957 or 1958 of the local offices in the areas concerned. The results are tabul-
[127] ated as follows:

G /129 cont./
103 To conclude the series of names for the island of Sakhalin occasionally mentioned above, the readily explicable, as it seems to me, etymology of the last-mentioned Gilyak name
G for this island might be considered here in passing. I believe
[192] that "Laer-mif" originated from "La-erri-mif," which, since "La" is the Gilyak name for the Amur, but "erri" means stream or river, and "mif," land, earth, is to say "Amur-River-Land" (8).

8. The Amur region itself is called "La-mif" among the Gilyak.

G
[114] Hence the Gilyak name for Sakhalin has the same meaning as the one that, according to the Jesuit missionaries, those Manchu sent by Emperor Kang-hi to explore the island wanted to express with the designation /130/ "Saghalian anga hata," although this expression, according to Klaproth, is not quite correct (1).

1. See above, p. 252, note 1.

This automatically calls forth the thought as to whether the Gilyak name for the island in the form "La-erri-mif" was not translated for them.

A
174 If one summarizes all that has been said about the Ainu,
648 the conclusion can be drawn that they were pushed out of the
131 southern part of their original habitation area, from Nippon, by
103 the Japanese in the historical period, and were forced to move farther north. The large mountainous island of Jesso /Yesso/ in the center of their distribution area seems above all to be the Ainu region, which they alone occupied until the arrival of the Japanese and which among them was simply called Aino /Ainu/ Island (Aino-mosiri, Ainso). From there they may have occupied the southern part of Sakhalin and the nearest of the Kurile Islands, Kunaschir and Iturup, even in ancient times; the Japanese advancing from Nippon to Jesso and beyond also
A certainly forced them to spread farther in two directions, north
174 and northeast. On Sakhalin the expansion of the Ainu seems to
184 have been more peaceful and gradual than on the Kurile Islands,
● 433
131

A 124 184 433 131

/130 cont./ where the less bountiful natural conditions required them to trap animals over a wider territory, to live constantly on the sea and roaming on the islands, through which, however, they acquired great skill in navigation and, at the same time, a greater capability for further expansion.

Gi 175

The historical reports concerning the Orok, the third people on the island of Sakhalin, are exceedingly scanty. The first information about them, though their name was not given, was obtained through the expedition sent to Sakhalin soon after Gi [23] 1709 by Emperor Kang-hi. Upon their return the Manchu reported that there were no horses there, to be sure, but that at various places the islanders kept a species of tame deer which they used to draw their sleds (2). This only fits the reindeer-

2. Du Halde, Descr. de l'Emp. de la Chine, Vol. IV, Paris, 1735, p. 13.

F.J. Gi 175

raising Orok. Not until the end of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth did the Japanese travelers, F.J. [101] Mogami Tok'nai and Mamia Rinsô, learn more about them. [103] They called them "Orotsko," and the land inhabited by them, "Orikata." On the map of Sakhalin drawn by the first (3), a

Gi 131 175 F.J. [126]

3. Siebold, Nippon, VII, Plate XXV: the map inscribed "Mogami Tok'nai 1786."

F.J. [114]

dotted line indicates the circumference of this territory. The line begins at the Gulf of Patience, coinciding approximately with the statement in Mamia Rinsô's travel report, where it is said that the territory of the Orotsko begins at Si and Taraika (4).

4. "Tô-tats ki ko" (Siebold, Nippon, VII, p. 189).

A 224 114 [192] /576 cont./ More Trustworthy and of greater interest with respect to the hunting practices of the Ainu is the statement by the same traveler that they set up snares similar to those for the river otter and sable also for the musk deer (Ainu likun-kamoi), and, to be sure, in accordance with its habitat, in the mountain gorges. Accordingly, I am G A 224 inclined to conjecture that this animal is also caught in a similar manner by the Gilyak, though I heard nothing about it among them. The Ainu method of hunting larger animals, such as rein- A [411] deer and bear, is likewise the same as among the Gilyak, except that they also use poisoned arrows, which, as /577/ was A 411 439 325 178 mentioned above, are not found among the latter. The bear pikes, spears, and lances required for hunting are supplied to them, however, since the complete decline of their own forging skill, through barter from the Gilyak, in which those elegant lances with inlaid silver, copper, and brass figures are regarded as Manchurian -- a view which may be maintained and encouraged by the Gilyak out of self-interest. All in all, however, A 224 181 433 648 the Ainu are hunters even less than the Gilyak, and, to be sure, not only because they, like the latter, gain their livelihood chiefly from fishing and seal-catching, which certainly give them a meager subsistence, but also because they are too lazy and, as a consequence of the Japanese yoke burdening them, too apathetic to procure for themselves the means for a more abundant and better existence through a more active practice of hunting fur-bearing animals, easily turned to good account in trade with the Gilyak.

Gi 224 433 The situation is different for the other neighbors of the Gilyak on Sakhalin, the Orok. Among them the inclination for hunting peculiar to all Tungusic tribes appears in very obvious and characteristic ways. Although wedged in in small numbers between two more powerful, sedentary fishing peoples, they have remained, as was discussed above in detail, hunting nomads Gi [439] in their principal concerns and character. Hunting is absolutely necessary for their livelihood, for though they also occupy themselves for a period during the year with fishing and seal-hunting along the seashore and the mouths of the rivers, this is far from sufficient for their subsistence, and only the hunting diligently